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O R A T I O N ,

Delivered before the Democrats of Washington County,

AT

Montpelier, on the 4th of July, 1839.

BY EDWARD D. BARBER.

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ORATION.

THE public commemoration of great and momentous events in the history of nations and of men, has been practised from the remotest antiquity. It is the most obvious and effectual means of preserving, among succeeding generations, the remembrance of such events and of the good which was obtained, or the evil which was averted by them. Nothing can so effectually keep alive and embody the spirit of the times in which the event transpired, as the frequent celebration of its anniversary, and the recounting of the scenes with which it was attended. When a nation whose history has been marked by some signal deliverance from danger or destruction, either wholly neglects to commemorate that deliverance by public rejoicings and thanksgivings, or suffers it to be signalized with unmeaning and inappropriate displays, it needs no prophet to divine that the spirit of freedom hath departed from the hearts of its citizens. But when the festival of a nation's birth or rescue from captivity, or oppression, is celebrated with generous enthusiasm—with appropriate demonstrations of gratitude and joy, and with the spirit of those who wrought out the deliverance, we need not fear for the perpetuation of its liberties or the patriotism of its people. It is a lively recollection of the blessings which such deliverance brought with it, and a filial remembrance of the virtues and daring of those who achieved it, that kindle into a flame in the public festivity, and mark the existence and power of the father's spirit in the bosom of the son. If, then, the event which a nation is called upon to celebrate with public rejoicings and honors, is one which should be hallowed in the memories and revered in the hearts of its citizens, it is but a dictate of duty, as well as an impulse of patriotism, to signalize its return with the homage of the intellect and the soul, and make it the jubilee of reason and truth. To this end, on the present occasion, we should make all our faculties of thought and emotion subservient to the contemplation of the great events and principles connected with our revolutionary history. Every demonstration of respect and every manifestation of joy—the pageantry and show—the thunder of the artillery—the thrilling of the music—the voice of adoration and prayer—the power of reason and the appeal of passion—the blandishments of beauty and the thousand sympathies and influences which fill our bosoms and crowd upon our minds, should all be made instrumental in exciting in our bosoms a deeper reverence for the illustrious dead, a holier love for the liberties they purchased for us, and a more unalterable determination to transmit them to posterity untarnished and undiminished.

The event which we this day celebrate is one which stands upon the page of history, for its grandeur and its glory without a parallel. Its grandeur is not that of battle and blood and its glory is not the glory of victory. But its grandeur consists in its being identified with the interests and happiness of the human race; and its glory consists in its being the triumph of right over power. The celebration of the anniversary of the 4th of July 1776 is one in which, not Americans or American institutions alone, have an interest, but one in which civilization, humanity and the world, should be sharer. This day, sixty three years ago, were promulgated those principles which constituted a new era in the history of human liberty, and which are destined to work out the emancipation

and regeneration of mankind. To day we commemorate the highest displays of undaunted courage, heroic virtue and unconquerable devotion to human good, which the annals of our race affords. And it is only when we sit down to a faithful contemplation of the characters of our revolutionary fathers—their many and signal virtues as statesmen, as patriots and warriors—their noble conceptions of right and duty—their disinterested and unhesitating dedication of their hopes and their fortunes upon the altar of their country and its principles—their unflinching endurance of hardship and suffering, of wrong and reproach, as the undying testimonials of their attachment to human right—and their unblenching passage through the fiery ordeal of persecution and war, to a triumph most glorious and beneficent in its effects upon themselves, their posterity and their kind, that we have a full and vivid conception of the benefits we have derived from their efforts and their sacrifices. And on the opening of this occasion, how appropriate is it, while some—a scattered remnant of that patriot band who wrought out our independence with fire and blood,—yet linger among us, that that we should recur to the times and the scenes through which they had to pass, that they might meet us, their children, here in peace, and that we together might lift our heads, our hands and our hearts in homage to freedom and to the God who helped them to achieve it. Let us, for a few moments, hand in hand with these venerable relics of a glorious race and a glorious age, revisit, in imagination, the days and the fields of their trials and their triumphs. Walk we first to the field of Lexington, there to behold the opening of that fierce drama of blood, the acting of which shook the island empress of the sea with terror and scattered the brightest jewels from her crown, to witness the first offering of human sacrifice upon the altar of tyranny and to hear the deep oath muttered to the winds by the free sons of the pilgrims that they would “die or live freemen”—and now we turn to the summit of Bunker’s blazing mount and behold there, what Britain learned too late,

“The night that slumbers in a peasant’s arm”—

and while our hearts shout with the gallant Putnam in the midst of the din and the carnage of the battle, let us not fail to drop one holy tear of reverence and love over the lifeless corse of the generous but ill-fated Warren—and now at our own Bennington, we strike with Stark “for freedom or a grave” and, “in the name of the Great Jehovah and Continental Congress,” demand with Allen the surrender of Ticonderoga—and now behold along the thundering heights of Bemis, the eagle winging his victorious flight above the sinking banner of Burgoyne—and now we look upon the fierce fields of Trenton and Princeton, where the father of his country is winning back to his standard, after a long absence, the bird of victory, whose notes of triumph send life and animation through millions of desponding hearts—and now we tread upon Monmouth’s gory plain where

—“freedom’s banner torn but flying
Streams like a thunder cloud against the wind”—

and now we linger among the sad and joyless scenes of Valley Forge, and behold the snowy earth red from the unshod feet of the defenders of untitled liberty, steadfast amid starvation and death—and now we are treading the ground where “Camden’s martyrs fell” and wandering amid the scenes

“Whence rang of old the rifle shot
And hurrying shout of Marion’s men,”

and drinking that air,

“Which old DeKalb and Sumpter drank.”

At length we ascend the heights of Yorktown where closed the dreadful struggle, and where, in the presence of Washington and LaFayette, the British lion crouched cowering before the stooping Eagle of America, and the infant INDEPENDENCE was installed in the hearts of three millions of freemen—the more than regal throne from which had been driven back to their refuge among the dynasties of the old world legitimacy and kingly sway. From this scene of triumph and glory, let us pass to the shades of Mount Vernon, and behold there

the great and good father of his country, seeking in retirement and peace, that rich inheritance of fame which the sceptre and the crown can never bestow.

"There dwells the Man, the flower of human kind,
Whose visage mild bespeaks his nobler mind;
There dwells the Soldier, who his sword ne'er drew,
But in a righteous cause, to Freedom true;
There dwells the Hero, who ne'er fought for fame,
Yet gained more glory than a Cesar's name:—
And oh! Columbia by thy son's caressed
There dwells the Father of the realms he blessed,
Who no wish feels to make his mighty praise,
Like other chiefs, the means himself to raise,
But *there* retiring breathes in pure renown
And feels a grandeur that disdains a crown."

How thrilling and instructive has been this our short pilgrimage of memory, over the hallowed spots and amid the sacred reminiscences of the revolution. Fancy still holds us in her charmed embrace. We live in an other age—we breathe a purer and a healthier atmosphere—the spell of other times is upon us—the fields and flowers are more redolent of truth and liberty—and we are drinking at fountains which are welling up forever from the great depths of human right and human improvement. Under such circumstances, the inspiration that moved the souls of the mighty dead—that made eloquent the tongue of Henry—that touched as with fire the pen of the immortal Jefferson—that nerved the arm that smote for freedom, and that stirred, as with one mighty impulse, the heart of a whole nation, should be upon us, and should fill us with the spirit that reigned supreme in the bosoms of our forefathers.

And for what, let me inquire, were all the costly sacrifices of treasure, blood and life, of which I have been speaking, made? What was the revolution which our fathers accomplished? Was it got up and carried forward by aspiring demagogues for their own personal aggrandizement? Was the war waged to throw off one form of government, in order to establish another on less beneficent principles? Were the doctrines asserted by our revolutionary sires, mere seditious declamations addressed to the selfishness, cupidity and vanity of the multitude and calculated to inflame the passions, without carrying with them in their practical operation, any salutary reform—any new constitution of human government—any sound exposition of human rights? If so, why eulogize them or their promulgators? But if, on the contrary, the struggle of the revolution was a struggle for great and enduring principles of right—if the men who led it on and carried it through, amid every peril, amid disaster and defeat and in the face of power and the lust of dominion, were actuated by noble and philanthropic impulses—if the doctrines which they published, as those by which they would stand or would fall, contain the true elements of human liberty and human progress, then both the men and their doctrines demand our homage and both should be cherished in the hearts of all, who strive for the welfare and the elevation of their race.

The founders of the republic, in the immortal instrument which you have just heard read, made a declaration of the principles by which they would be guided, in their struggle for independence from the mother country. They declared their intention not only to be, to free themselves from the tyranny under which they were suffering and to set up a government of their own, but to establish that government upon their own principles—to lay its foundation, not on the perishable and unstable basis of *human power*, but on the deep, immutable and eternal basis of *human rights*. Their declaration was general in its terms and general in its object—not for the few millions of people who inhabited the soil of America alone, but for the world—for man every where—for human nature in all its diversity of rank, color, condition and clime. The heaven-derived, indestructible rights of man, were placed upon the throne in the place of princes and regal dominion. By the principles of that declaration, legitimacy was despoiled of its splendor, and humanity clothed in its true dignity—rank was driven from its usurped and abused authority, and merit exalted in its stead—privilege received its sentence of banishment, and manhood was recalled from

its exile—Power, in short, was cast down, and Right set up. It was a bold attack, in the name of man, upon every prince, potentate and dynasty of the earth. It was the exhuming of human nature from beneath the crushing weight of thrones and aristocracies—it was calling forth the buried Lazarus of Human Rights from the iron-girt sepulchre of civil and ecclesiastical tyranny. Its language was the language of the human heart—its voice had a tone of startling power among the nations of the earth—it rang a peal of joy to the oppressed of every clime—and it spoke, like the muttering of seven thunders, in the ears of nobles and despots:

“A voice on every wave
A sound o’er every sea;
The war note of the brave—
The anthem of the free!
From steep to steep it rings
Through Europe’s many climes—
A knell to despot kings—
A sentence on their crimes:
From every giant hall, companion of the cloud,
The startled echo leaps to give it back aloud:
Where’er a wind is rushing—
Where’er a stream is gushing—
The swelling sounds are heard
Of man to freedom calling—
Of broken fetters falling—
And like the carol of an uncaged bird,
The bursting shout of Freedom’s battle word.”

The strife of the revolution was not, on the part of our fathers, a strife about words, or money, or rule; but it was a strife about the manner in which money should be taken from the people, and about the principles upon which men should be governed. The contest between Great Britain and this country, was a contest for *naked power* on the one side and *naked right* on the other. Lord North claimed that the imperial parliament had the constitutional power to tax the colonies, without their consent or without their representation in parliament; and he stopped not to enquire whence that power was derived or how it came into the British Constitution—whether by usurpation or not—but having found it there, the *fact* was sufficient for him, and on that fact he planted himself in his attempt to subdue to British rule, the people of America. Samuel Adams, on the other hand, demanded, in the name of the American people, by what *right* that power was claimed. The simple fact that it had been exercised by parliament and had got a lodgment in the British constitution, was not, in the minds of our ancestors, a sufficient reason for its continuance. *They* went behind British precedents for the true source of governmental authority. Power, without right, was to them but another name for tyranny, and right in their estimation, was derived not from rulers, but from man. Thus were abstract power and abstract right arrayed against each other as the great antagonist principles for which the conflict was waged. On the side of the former, were arranged the sceptre and the diadem—the wealth and influence of hereditary titles and honors—the sympathies and encouragements of all the royal dynasties of the world, and the might of a heartless, hireling and disciplined soldiery. On the other stood untitled, undecorated and unpanoplied human nature, surrounded with a band of patriots who had pledged “their lives, their fortunes and their sacred honor” in its cause, and sustained by an army of those who came fresh from their firesides and their homes to do the battle of freedom, self-relying, unterrified, unconquerable.

Such was the contest of the revolution—such the actors in its scenes of doubt and peril and victory—such the deliverance it wrought out for us, and such the spirit and principles which were bequeathed to us by our fathers and which we are under solemn obligation to cherish and transmit to our children.

The most interesting as well as most appropriate inquiries for such an occasion as this, then, are—What is human liberty? From whence is it derived? How can it be maintained? Is our own government founded upon it and are we sustaining and perpetuating its true principles?

In the conception of some men, freedom is a mere accident to a man's birth, or complexion, or innate superiority, and is to be looked upon, rather as a matter of good fortune, than a necessary element of man's nature. They do not see in it a divine bestowment, by the great Author of all existencies, upon the human family, and are hence fain to treat the idea of its being an "inalienable right" of man, as the offspring of a false philosophy or the flourish of a too vivid rhetoric. And with the ridicule and contempt which have of late years been thrown upon it, there has been a manifest tendency in public sentiment, to hold in little respect, the whole doctrine of rights so fiercely contended for by our fathers, and so perseveringly sneered at by the royalists of their days. But, mark me, if we would preserve the form and the spirit of liberty in the world, we must ever keep ourselves firmly planted on the rights of human nature—without constantly keeping our eye upon them, as the cynosure in the political firmament, we launch forth into an illimitable sea of speculation and doubt, without any guide to direct us to the desired haven, and are sure to be either swallowed up in the Maelstrom of Anarchy or wrecked on the rocks of Despotism.

Liberty is founded in the constitution of man and is a necessary attribute of his nature. His creator has endowed him with capacities for enjoyment, and furnished him with powers that impel him to action—that enable him to acquire knowledge and shape the means to the end—that elevate his aspirations and desires above the grovelling of the brute to a higher and better destiny—that bind him, with indissoluble ties, to the beings around him, and that guide him to the choice of the right and good. Happiness, in the exercise and the enjoyment of these powers, is his great pursuit. Burning with such high energies, his great parent has placed him in a heritage abounding with animation and beauty and power—with delights for his sense, mysteries for his mind, kindred beings for his affections, and good & evil for his power of choice. Thus constituted a reasonable, intelligent and moral being, he cannot but be the subject of duty—duty to himself, to his fellow creatures and to his Creator. Forever conscious of his claims upon others, he possesses an instinctive conviction of their claims upon him. A law of reciprocal obligation and duty is written, by the finger of the Almighty, upon his heart. But he cannot obey this law, or comply with the beneficent impulses of his nature, or conform to the government of reason, or be guided by the dictates of natural justice and duty, unless he possesses rights,—the right to move, to speak, to control his own actions and to seek his own good and the good of others, according to his own free choice. How can he be the subject of reason, if not left to exercise his own reason, without restraint? How can he be the subject of duty, if he cannot act from his own volitions and be governed by his own motives? If, by the constitution of his nature or the requirements of divine authority, he is bound to perform any act, forego any gratification or resist any evil, he must possess the right to choose and the right to act from that choice, independent of the commands of another. If he is under obligation to do any thing, he must necessarily have the right to do it. If man is, therefore, the creature of reason, of duty, and of right, he must be free, or the principles of his nature are violated & the purposes of his creation thwarted by a daring infringement of the divine will. His freedom being the necessary result of his being a reasonable and accountable creature, so long as he remains reasonable and accountable, his freedom must be an "inalienable right:" for he cannot, without violating the constitution of his nature and the will of his maker thereby expressed, absolve himself from the faithful exercise of his moral & intellectual powers in obedience to those laws enstamped upon his soul.

Such being the rights of man as an individual—rights which are inseparable from his nature, given him by God and not derived, in any way, from compact with his fellows, it follows irresistibly, that whatever rights are natural to man, are possessed on a perfect equality by every individual of the species. While, therefore, men differ in their physical powers, in their moral qualities, and their intellectual gifts, so far as rights are concerned, they come from the hand of their maker perfectly equal—equally free, equally entitled to the enjoyment of the bounties of nature, equally entitled to seek after and participate in the delights of sense, the solaces of affection and the pleasures of intellect. Standing

in the simplicity of nature before his Creator, man is every where the offspring of the same parent, the free denizen of the same world, the equal inheritor of the riches and benefactions of his great author—the same free, intelligent, moral and immortal being. God has not, by any ordinance of his will, made one a prince and another a peasant—made one to roll in affluence and another to pine in want—one to command and another to obey. These are the results of man's devices—of man's disregard of the rights of his fellow man—of man's war upon the interests of his brother, at the expense of that liberty and equality which Heaven hath bestowed alike upon all.

If such is the natural condition of man, for what purpose should be instituted government? Should it be to make the million, the serfs and slaves of the one? To rob the multitude of their heaven-descended rights and to manufacture a monarch or a nobility out of the spoils? To invest one or a few with the right to command and give rules of conduct to the rest, without their consent? To have one class born to luxury, idleness and magnificence, and another to toil, privation and penury? No. The simple and proper object of human government is, to protect the natural and inalienable rights of man from invasion and violence, and aid him, as far as practicable, in the developement of his powers and the virtuous improvement of his nature. Men enter into the social compact, not to yield up rights, but to provide means for their more perfect security. In the natural state, though all men are equally free, equally entitled to every gratification of which their natures are capable and which the world of matter, mind and emotion can afford them, they do not all, in obedience to the dictates of right and duty, respect the rights of their fellows, but seek for their own advantage and elevation, at the expense of the good and enjoyment of others. The strong oppress the weak—the guileful circumvent and defraud the upright and pure minded—the rapacious and powerful prey upon all whom they can overreach and despoil. Now the great and primary object of government is to furnish protection to the rights and interests of humanity when coupled with weakness, and to repress and restrain those dangerous and hurtful propensities of our nature, which unsettle the order and harmony of the moral world—which have filled every land with violence and plunged every nation in blood. If, therefore, when men enter the social state, they yield up their natural right to protect themselves from wrong by their own strong arm, they do it only that the more powerful arm of public force and public law may be substituted in the place of their own comparative weakness. If they consent that their controversies should be taken out of their own hands and settled by public tribunals, it is, that the right of all may be the more effectually guarded and equal justice more surely dispensed. If they submit to have a portion of their gains taken for the support of public authority, they are only, by that means, providing the more effectual safety for all their interests of person and property. Government is, in short, only a mode, adopted by common consent, of vindicating interests which are common to all, from infringement and destruction. It is but an embodying of the public strength and public wisdom, for the public good. Its high prerogatives are beneficence and justice. It never suffers, without losing sight of its highest ends, right to be sacrificed to expediency—honesty to rapacity—rectitude to favor—or man to property.

What then, should be the fundamental principles, of a legitimate constitution of human government? The leading one, must necessarily, be an acknowledgement of the people, as the only source of political power, and a perfect ultimate responsibility to their will. One step of departure, from these principles, places you in the high road to despotic power. To this must be added an acknowledgement of the unqualified political equality of the people. The idea of hereditary rank,—hereditary privilege,—titular distinction, or any distinction whatever, except that founded on superior merit, can find no place in any just conception of constitutional freedom. If once admitted, as being founded in nature, there is no stopping place in the career of exclusive privilege, short of the divine right of kings; whereas, in the eye of the true philosopher of liberty, all rights are divine, but equally so in the rags of the mendicant and the trappings of the noble,—in the person of the laborer and the person of majesty. In like manner, every

true constitution of government must rest itself on the capacity of the people for self-government. If the whole are not most capable of governing, where shall the eclectic process stop? It can stop nowhere short of an aristocracy or a throne. The people best know their own wants, and can best tell how they may be relieved. Being themselves the subjects of government, they will not be likely to prey upon their own interests, or submit to exactions that are not for the general good. All true government provides moreover, for a division of its powers into proper departments, and a precise definition of the number and extent of those powers. It looks also to the improbability of our nature, and has faith, not only in the sagacity of men to discover what is for their own advantage, but in their intelligence and their capacity for improvement in knowledge and virtue. It therefore, always provides the means for giving full scope, for the display of the moral and intellectual powers of those who are to be under its sway; and instead of putting clogs upon advancement and fetters upon intellect, it throws wide open the avenues of distinction, and brings education and knowledge to the doors of all. To forward the work of human improvement,—to make the people best acquainted with their rights, and their responsibilities,—and to prepare them for an intelligent exercise of the high prerogatives, with which they are invested as freemen, every constitution of government should provide for perfect freedom of opinion and perfect freedom of inquiry and discussion. If men are to be their own governors, they must be left free to speak, to write, and to publish their thoughts for the benefit of all. How can the right be determined without investigation? How can the good be known without inquiry and discussion? And how can the benefits of discussion be realized among the whole mass, except by opening and keeping open, the avenues of intellectual communication? It is only where the general good is treated as subordinate to partial and oppressive interests,—where truth is not to be sought lest the truth should make free,—where right is trampled beneath might, that the free speech is feared, or that gags for the mouth and padlocks for the press are needed. Where man is respected and not his externals of condition and station,—where justice, rectitude and truth are to be established, the more freely the immortal mind is left to explore the universe of God, the more certainly will those objects be attained, and the more rapid will be the improvement and the higher the elevation of the race. Unless error is the reigning deity, no nation need fear the worship of truth, and where truth is left free to combat error, no one need fear for the ultimate triumph of the former.

“Truth crushed to earth shall rise again,

The eternal years of God, are hers,

But error, wounded, writhes in pain,

And dies among her worshippers.”

So, too, the perfect security of freedom of conscience, is an essential element in every true constitution of human government. It is only leaving man, in his discovery and practice of duty towards his maker, where that maker has left him to answer each one for himself. The most execrable of all tyrannies, is that which steps between man and his God, and attempts to dictate to him the matter of his belief, or the mode of his worship; and which visits him, with pains and penalties, because his faith does not square with the canons of a sect, or the orthodox of a statute.

It is only necessary to remark here, in passing, that our own constitution recognises all those great fundamental principles of civil liberty, of which I have been speaking. It derives all political power from the people, and makes all rulers their mere servants and agents. It discards all hereditary distinctions and privileges and opens the door of distinction to merit alone. All its provisions look to the capacity of the people for self-government and self-improvement. It throws wide open the avenues of intelligence, inquiry and discussion, and forbids any abridgement of the means by which they are carried forward. Its whole machinery is adapted to give scope to free speech and thought, and to make all its departments of authority feel the play of public sentiment. It provides that the popular will should be paramount, and takes care that every means shall be furnished for the intelligent and benevolent exercise of that will. It makes, in short, *opinion*, instead of *force*, the supreme arbiter.

That such a government should be as simple as possible in its details and operation, must be apparent at a glance. Its paramount objects are plain and few, and the means which it adopts to secure those objects should be equally plain and few. Its powers should be well defined, and should never depend upon mere precedent, construction or implication. The less complicated it is, in its provisions and administration, the more certain will it be to secure its just ends; & the more intricate it is, whether in theory or practice, the more surely will it depart from its legitimate objects and become the refuge of oppression and wrong.

But such a government as I have been describing, may be established, and may be perfect in the arrangement of its powers, and the adaptation of its means to secure the freedom, happiness and improvement of its citizens, and yet not be administered so as to effect those objects. If rulers lose sight of rights, and legislate independent of them, for property, prosperity, and national greatness, they are sure to render government an engine of wrong to some, and favor to others, and thus, thwart its only true end,—the promotion of the welfare of all alike.—The GENERAL GOOD, therefore, should be the great aim in the administration of government. And by *general good*, I do not mean the promotion of riches, splendor and power in the nation, but the equal protection of every citizen in his rights,—the impartial administration of justice, the supremacy of the laws, in their power of punishment and protection, over all—equal means of wealth, education and advancement to every citizen—the universal diffusion of intelligence and the promotion of honesty, industry and virtue among every class,—and the subordination of all mere pecuniary and temporary interests to the good of man, in all his moral and immortal qualities. All legislation, then, which is partial in its object or operation, is at direct war with the principles of republican liberty,—a palpable violation of the social compact,—an adoption, in practice, of the very essence of the aristocratic principle of society and government. Laws should have reference to rights, and rights belong equally to all.

The administration of our own government, then, upon wrong principles, and with wrong views as to the true object of government, and the true scope of legislation, is the rock upon which we are most likely to split. The great end at which we should aim in our efforts for the public good, manifestly is, to imbue the public mind with just sentiments as to the true objects of government, and the best means of securing those objects. The public sentiment of the nation is expressed by the statute book,—if that sentiment is tainted with false notions, and formed upon unsound maxims, the laws will exhibit, in their character and operation, an unsound policy. If the simple doctrines of republicanism prevail among the people, the laws will be few, general, impartial and plain. If the artificial and speculative dogmas of the aristocratic principle have been adopted to any extent, by the people, the laws will be correspondingly numerous, complex, partial and unintelligible. The former will be the policy of nature; the latter, the policy of artifice. It is at this point that the people of this country divide into parties, and here it is, that we may appropriately inquire, are we of the present day maintaining and carrying out the simple principles of republican freedom as established by our fathers, or are we, to a greater or less extent, adopting the principles and policy of the aristocracies of the old world? This inquiry is not only most proper for us, as partisans, but also most pertinent to the occasion which has called us together.

If we go back to the time of the revolution, we shall find that a very marked difference of opinion, as to the object and powers of government, prevailed among the leading men of those days. This difference of opinion did not fully and unequivocally manifest itself until after the close of the struggle for independence, when it became necessary to settle & define the powers of the new government. All the men of those days agreed in one thing,—that America should be independent of British rule. But one portion were in favor of independence, in order to establish a government on the model of the British Constitution; and the other, which was, by far, the largest class, and which gave character to the principles of the revolution,—were in favor of independence in order to establish a government based upon the rights of man. Resistance to a *bad* administration of a *good*

government was the doctrine of one class, and resistance to tyranny for the purpose of securing true liberty, was the doctrine of the other. At the head of the former was Hamilton; at the head of the latter was Jefferson. These two schools distinctly exhibited themselves at the formation of the constitution. The one contended for hereditary features in the constitution, and the removal of power from the people, and the other, was for placing the power *wholly* with the people, and for establishing the most perfect equality among all classes. After the Constitution was formed and adopted, and the popular had triumphed over the exclusive principle, as to the form of the government and the arrangement of its powers, as soon as the government went into operation these two classes began to exhibit their peculiar notions in its administration. The one was for extending its powers,—adding new ones by implication, and rendering the government strong and imposing; while the other contended that government should keep closely within its defined and enumerated powers, taking nothing by implication, and that it should be plain and simple in its character and operation.

Hamilton and his school drew their notions of government from Great Britain,—their *beau ideal* of government was the British constitution divested of some of its most glaring defects, and the form of society which they would substantially adopt, was that which prevailed in the mother country. They looked upon men as naturally divided into two classes, “the gentlemen and simplemen,”—the former fitted to be lawgivers and governors, and the latter, subjects. The people were not, in their estimation, qualified to be entrusted with sovereignty, but should be checked and controlled by a permanent and patrician interest, which should hold and exercise authority, not from the people, but from *the constitution*.* Jefferson and his school, on the other hand, threw themselves back of the British Constitution, upon the natural rights, and natural equality of men,—looked upon government as an association of men for their common good, and felt full faith in the virtue and intelligence of the people as their own best rulers. The aim of the one class was a *mere modification* of the British constitution; the aim of the other, the establishment of a government upon new principles, and such as would reject every feature of privilege and legitimacy. That the class, to which Hamilton belonged, should have been very large and influential, is a matter of no surprise. The whole nation, before the oppressions which led to the revolution, began to open their eyes, were imbued with great veneration for British institutions. In some, that veneration was so strong as to lead them to take open part with the mother country against their brethren; in others, the galling of the yoke led to a stern resistance to the power of Britain, but not to a repudiation of the general principles of her constitution; while in others,—and this class embraced the mass of the population,—the outrages of the mother country, not only led to a resistance to its *power*, but to a rejection of its *government* also, as founded in usurpation, and perpetuated by the oppression of the many, for the benefit of the few.—The leaders among those, who while they resisted the power of Britain over the colonies, still clung to its frame of society and government, were principally men of fortune, accustomed to influence and respect,—educated with notions of rank.

* In order to show that I have not done injustice to the class of politicians above mentioned, I subjoin the following extracts from the work of the elder Adams, on the Principles of Government, written by him while residing in England, as Minister of the United States. That the views of Hamilton and Adams, on the point in question, were identical, is not, I believe, disputed. Adams says in this work,—“I contend that the English constitution is in theory the most stupendous fabric of human invention,” Vol. 1, page 70. Again,—“The natural aristocracy should receive its natural and just weight in society, by giving it a *regal power* to appeal to against the madness of the people,” Ib. 203. Again,—“The distinction of poor and rich are as necessary in states of considerable extent, as labor and good government,—the poor are destined to labor, and the rich by the advantages of education, independence, and leisure, are qualified for superior stations,” Ib. page 381. Again,—“The people in all nations are naturally divided into two sorts, the *gentlemen* and *simplemen*, a word which is here, (in England,) used to signify *common people*, or *laborers, husbandmen, mechanics, and merchants in general*,—and the gentlemen will ordinarily be richer and born of more noted families,” Vol. 3, page 457.

Alexander H. Everett, Esq., in his address at Weymouth, Mass. on the 4th of July 1836, speaking of Hamilton, says,—“He is understood however, to have believed that the constitution would not ultimately, prove to be practicable, and that, after giving it a proper trial, it would be found necessary to recur to a stronger system.”

and fond of family names and distinctions,—men whose situation, circumstances and pursuits, identified them, in their habits and sympathies, rather with the *aristocracy* than the *people* of England. It is not strange, therefore, that the influence of those men, in the early government of the country, should have been generally felt, and should have given its legislation an aristocratic, rather than a democratic character. Such, indeed, was the fact. Hamilton and his followers soon gave the government the impress of their own peculiar notions. It began to ape the trappings, pageantry and forms of royalty,—to treat the people as subjects rather than sovereigns,—to favor, in the exercise of its powers, the interest of classes, instead of the interests of the whole, considered as one class. Under their auspices commenced, in fact, that stupendous system of partial and monopolizing legislation, which is not only the legitimate offspring of aristocracy, but has been persevered in, and carried forward, until within our own immediate recollection, its multitude of monied corporations, with a giant one at their head, have set themselves in battle array against the government of the people, and convulsed the nation to its very centre, in their struggle for ascendancy. The Hamiltonian party of those times, however, had its antagonists in Jefferson and his associates. These parties, thus originating, have existed from that to the present time, more or less distinctly marked, and we find them now, as then, the party of power and privilege on one side, and the party of right and equality on the other; the Aristocracy and the Democracy.

The democratic interest having prevailed, in the formation of the constitution and subsequently in the struggles of 1793 and the following years, and every thing like patrician rank and hereditary privilege having been discarded, to those who thirsted for such distinctions, the possession of extraordinary wealth seemed to open the only door for the attainment of their wishes. Wealth, with its influence and appendages, took the place of dukedoms, lordships and baronies, in the imaginations of those who longed for the substance, if not the gew-gaws of rank. Forgetting that government was instituted for the security of rights and the good of all, with special favors to none; and finding that riches might be made to flow in, with a more swelling tide, upon those who could obtain from government certain exclusive privileges, they exerted themselves to turn the legislation of the country to their own account. The true object of legislation began to be lost sight of; and although every thing was done in the *name* of the people and for the alleged *good* of the people yet the interest of the few was the governing object. Law ceased, in some measure, to be the voice of right and became the voice of gain! Property, and not men, began to be uppermost in the mind of the law-maker,—the interests of mammon began to overshadow the interests of humanity,—labor weighed as nothing in the scale against capital,—national virtue was disregarded in the rage for national greatness and power,—and the enduring interests of human nature were trodden under the foot of sordid and heartless avarice. Such was the introduction into this government of that iniquitous system of legislation which has filled the land with privileged corporations, and has done much to build up among the people, a privileged class more powerful than the people themselves. And this is the spirit and substance of aristocracy, if not its form. What, I ask, is the substantial difference between incorporating a certain class into a privileged order by constitutional provision, and granting the same or similar privileges to a like number, by legislative enactment? What difference in principle is there, between attaching to a certain portion of the soil of England, certain emoluments and honors, and attaching to a specified portion of the money of this country, represented by stock, advantages which do not attend the residue?—What difference, in its practical operation, can there be between cutting society into two classes, making a part nobles and a part peasants, at once; and so employing the powers of government, as to constantly aggrandize those, already rich and powerful, at the expense of the rest, until all is splendor and magnificence above, and all is poverty, wretchedness and want beneath? What boots it, that we live in a government constructed upon free principles, if the powers of that government are so wielded, as to enable a part to plunder the rest, or the laws, which are enacted under its authority, are not founded upon the equal rights of all?—

What have we gained, if we have but exchanged an aristocracy of land-holders for an aristocracy of stock-holders? What have we not lost, if we have exchanged for the ascendancy of a chivalrous & educated nobility, the ascendancy of heartless and soulless legal existences, which have no notions of right and wrong, and which have no sensibilities to be touched, either in their bosoms or on their backs.

To satisfy ourselves that there has been a gross departure, in the past legislation of the country, from the true principles of democratic freedom, we need but look around us and recur to facts, with which all are familiar. Throughout the length and breadth of the land we behold, instead of general and impartial laws, enacted for the security of the people's rights and their improvement in all that constitutes true elevation of character, laws erecting an almost countless number of monied and other corporations, with privileges which no individual possesses, and which have been given them at the expense of the community: we behold, also, that with these monied corporations, has grown up, in the midst of us, a distinct and powerful interest, that mixes with every branch of business, and exerts its influence in every department of society—we have seen this interest win its way into the very government of the country, and boast that the government could not perform its appropriate functions without its aid—and we have witnessed it, when its utility was questioned, and its right to participate in the administration of public affairs denied, openly wage war against the constituted authorities of the land, plunge the nation into distress, and threaten it with irretrievable ruin, unless its wishes were acquiesced in—and at this very moment, we know that it is engaged in a fierce contest to compel the government to an alliance with its interest. In this we discover that predominance of the partial over the general interest, which is most fatal to freedom in its tendencies, and is the sure forerunner of despotic power.

A system better calculated to mislead and deceive, than the corporation, paper-money, credit system so extensively adopted in this country, could not have been devised by the ingenuity of man. Possessing some advantages, and those such as address themselves most forcibly to the observation even of the unskilful—intricate and subtle in its details and operation,—insidious in its encroachments, and specious in its effects,—inflaming the cupidity of some and ministering to the ambition of others,—possessing, in short, some allurements or some bribe for almost every portion of the community, it won its way to public favor, as noiselessly as the serpent glides to its prey; and the nation were only aroused to their danger when they found themselves crushed beneath its weight and writhing within its folds. By its command of the circulating medium of the country, and by its consequent power over the commercial world, it possessed the means within itself, of reaching and influencing every pecuniary interest of the people; and once having intermingled itself with all the pursuits of life and ramifications of society, it became no difficult matter to impress upon the public mind, that its continuance and sustentation were necessary to the prosperity and well-being of the body politic. Secure in the inviolability of corporate privileges,—being in no way directly responsible to the popular will, but possessing an infinite number of appliances to operate upon that will and mould it to its own purposes, and being the dispenser instead of the recipient of favors, it necessarily acquired a fearful influence, not only over the people but over their public servants. It became no middling interest or third estate in the republic, but began to be *the state itself*. And yet it had reached this fatal supremacy, by such rapid and stealthy strides, that the people seemed not to know that they were under the yoke,—its galling alone aroused them from their lethargy.

In the minds of some politicians and statesmen, this country owes all that it possesses of prosperity, improvement and greatness to the introduction and prevalence of this system. They would fain make you believe, that before its adoption and extension, the land was a waste and the people, barbarians; and that without its continuance, the country would become a desolation, and its inhabitants a race of paupers! How little do such men know of the true source of a nation's prosperity, or the true elements of a nation's improvement and greatness. Industry, frugality and virtue among the people, are the fountains from which flow true

national increase and strength. That this system has a tendency to advance the nation in many respects, is admitted. It increases the business, the commerce, the luxuries and the splendor of the nation. It acts upon the body politic, like a powerful stimulus upon the human system, taxing all its powers to the utmost and urging it forward with blind impetuosity in a career which has no guides and no goal. But is this improvement in its proper sense? In the eye of the true patriot, improvement does not consist alone in the increase of power, in the extension of commerce and the arts, and in the multiplication of canals, steam ships and rail-roads,—all these may exist while in all that constitutes real national riches and prosperity, the nation may be wanting, and may be sinking under them, into ruin. The mind of the nation may be given up to false doctrines,—its heart polluted with corrupt morals,—its strength turned into weakness by enervation and sloth,—its conscience scared and blunted by violence and oppression,—its sense of right eradicated, and its fountains of justice corrupted; it may, indeed, while exhibiting every outward demonstration of vigor, be in the last stages of dissolution. Its wealth, its power, and its splendor may be but flowers upon the tomb, the more luxuriant from the putrefaction beneath. A nation's true strength and prosperity consists in the number of its intelligent minds, imbued with true principles of liberty,—its number of honest hearts, full of generous patriotism and manly independence,—its millions above want, and its few in magnificence,—its laws of justice and right, administered with fearless integrity and impartiality,—its many institutions for instruction, and its few for wealth and aggrandizement,—its happy, industrious and virtuous population, and its means of making that population more happy, more industrious and more virtuous. Wealth may be indicative of fraud, extortion and wrong, as well as of honesty, and fair dealing, and it is only when it is an index of sobriety, industry and intelligence among the people, and when it is used to give to intellect an impulse, to morality a safe-guard, to justice power, and to right supremacy, that it is a national blessing. When a nation prospers at the expense of honesty, virtue, justice and right, its prosperity is but the bloom upon the apples of Sodom,—ashes and bitterness are within.

The philosophic statesman, whose mind is imbued with just conceptions of human rights, and whose aim is to fix the foundations of a nation's prosperity upon an enduring basis, does not suffer himself to be drawn into the support and adoption of any system, which, though it may offer present advantages of the most tempting character, may be fraught with evils the most direful in its remote tendencies and ultimate consequences. He who loves his country and his kind, will not permit his vision to be bounded by the interests of a year or a cycle of years, but will look beyond, into the extended and extending vista of futurity, and will estimate the consequence of present acts, upon remote posterity. He will not adopt that narrow minded, unstatesman-like policy which seeks for the aggrandizement of the existing generation at the expense of the misery of generations yet unborn. The Public and the People are not the same, and their interests are by no means identical. The public is a creature of temporary and changeable interest, but the people are eternal, and their great interests are ever the same. If we grant, then, that the corporation and paper money systems, as now existing in this country, are of present advantage,—that they stimulate industry—multiply manufactures,—extend commerce and urge forward the country with great rapidity, in the increase of wealth and luxury, does this prove that these systems are beneficial to the nation? How are all these things accomplished? Surely not by any new creation of wealth or any new creation of its natural resources. They are accomplished by adopting new and artificial modes of action,—by unsettling the more equal distribution of wealth among the people & associating it in large masses, whereby its power for great enterprizes, whether good or evil in their character, is immeasurably increased,—by introducing the spirit and principle of monopoly into the public policy,—by breaking down individual enterprise, and competition and, with them, the more general diffusion of competence and independence,—and by driving labor from the soil to the factory, and thus bringing it more perfectly within the power of capital and consequently rendering it more perfectly its prey. In the present state of this coun-

try, where land is plenty and cheap, and the population is not crowded, the evils which such an order of things is calculated to produce, are not distinctly seen and felt. Yet these are but the incipient steps in the establishment of a state of society, where every thing like liberty and equality are trodden under foot. To gain a full and vivid conception of the fatal tendency of such a policy, the inquiry should be made, what will be the condition of the country a century or two centuries hence, if the system is persevered in, and increases with the growth of the nation? It needs no prophetic pencil to paint the picture. The land has been rapidly filling up with population,—wealth has been gradually concentrating in the hands of the few, and poverty as gradually extending among the many; the soil has come under the control of extensive land holders, and instead of a numerous, independent class of moderate farmers, there is one landlord to a hundred tenants,—associated wealth* has reared its factories and forges and workshops around every waterfall and in every hamlet,—the competition between capitalists and between laborers has increased, only to bring down the wages of labor,—the multitude live only at the beck of the few,—the improvement of mind, the culture of morals, and the practice of virtue among the mass, are all neglected in the struggle for a scanty subsistence,—squalor, rags and wretchedness hold frightful sway in the crowded city and village,—disease there sets up his ghastly dominion,—hunger and starvation go prowling round, with hollow eyes and shrivelled lips, and with frenzied crime for an attendant; premature old age and decay fasten upon manhood,—infancy is driven to long and almost unrequited toil, with no smile upon its lip, no rose upon its cheek, and no joy within its heart,—and the country, which should have been the home of freemen and the nurse of giant men, has, by its own evil system of legislation, turned its freemen into dependants and filled its borders with a wretched and degenerated race. How horrible the contemplation! How truly may it be said:

“Ill fares that land to hastening ills a prey,
Where wealth accumulates and men decay.”

Wherever true notions of liberty and a strict adherence to the principles of democratic equality prevail in the government and policy of a country, we behold an entirely different state of things. Instead of that “horizontal cut” in society which divides the people into nabobs and paupers, there is a more general distribution of wealth among all portions of community. The laws are general in their provisions and impartial in their operation, neither oppressing one, nor granting favors to another; independence is in every breast—industry and contentment go hand in hand to their toil and frugality is the companion of gain. The government, with parental care, looks to the protection of rights rather than the protection of particular interests. It never suffers the individual or a class to be sacrificed, though the sacrifice may be asked in the name of the general good. It subjects its policy to what is just, instead of to that which is only expedient and advantageous. It makes labor honorable, and does not exalt riches and show above virtue and intelligence, though their lot may be lowly and their garb homely. It strives, in short, first for the improvement of the mind and heart of the nation and aims to secure the elevation of the intellectual and im-

*It has been gravely said by an eminent statesman and writer, that “associated wealth” is no more dangerous than “associated poverty.” That the evil, if any, is in “the principle of associated power and in the purposes of the association,” and not in the wealth or poverty of the parties.” If the question was simply whether the association of rich men or poor men, for the accomplishment of any given object, was the greater evil, the only inquiry would be, which has the most power, by their means and numbers, to accomplish the end proposed? The association would be equally anti-republican in both cases. But the associating of wealth in large masses, which possesses an inherent power to gain favor and control for its possessor, when distributed among individuals, and conferring upon it by law new powers whereby its influence is incalculably increased, is a positive evil in itself, and of an anti-republican tendency whether considered within the control of rich or poor men. But poverty is the absence of wealth,—the lack of influence,—the want of power, it is not, like wealth, by nature the spoiler, but his prey. And how can poverty be associated and armed with new powers of control, when its only powers are those of suffering? How can you incorporate want and rags, and hunger and nakedness? Who would take the stock? Who would be President or Cashier of the company? Who would ask for discounts at its counter?

mortal, over the sensual and temporal. Governed by such laws and operated upon by such a policy, the advancement of a nation in all that is honorable and good, is *more* sure though it may not be so rapid. Men are content to live by the sweat of their brows—prefer to prosper by honest industry, rather than by overreaching and fraud, and to accumulate by fair and wholesome gains, rather than to grow suddenly rich out of the spoils of their neighbors. The progress of the people in arts, commerce, manufactures and the refinements and elegancies of society, is exactly commensurate with their improvement in education, in morals and in all the virtues of social and domestic life. The mutual dependencies and supports of society are so interwoven and sustained by wholesome and just legislation, that a part cannot advance without the rest, and the whole mass accordingly rise together, capital and labor, wealth and virtue, improvement and intelligence, refinement and morality, all joining hands and moving on in beautiful and beneficent harmony.

With this picture, let us compare the scenes which are presented, under the operation of the false system of legislation and the false policy which have been adopted in this country. The rulers of the people having discovered that the elements of national prosperity lie hid in corporation credit and paper money, and that the former may be advanced within any assignable limit by the extension of the latter, with true neophtic zeal commence the talismanic operation. The influence of the system soon manifests itself in the feverish and excited state of the body politic. A new and unnatural stimulus is infused into various classes and various pursuits of life. Industry becomes unsteady in its application and erratic in its designs. As the system extends and infuses itself more generally into society, the more general becomes the disturbance in the prevailing harmony. The imaginations of men are filled with new notions of economy and acquirement; old habits begin to be irksome and castle-building takes the place of steady pursuit. Wealth is rapidly concentrated in large masses and, with its superior means and enlarged enterprizes, begins to cripple individual effort and individual competition. The value of property is suddenly and strangely enhanced—prices rise high and all previous ideas of acquisition become unsettled and unsatisfactory. Great projects are formed and carried into execution as if by magic. Fortunes are made in a day. The desire to become suddenly rich seizes upon all classes who can either directly or indirectly reach the grand dispenser of benefits—labor becomes dishonorable and is the last recipient of bounty from the hands of this new benefactor—scheming, cunning and fraud, supersede industry, plain dealing and honesty, and a rage for display and luxury take the place of economy and frugality. Success makes some imperious, disregardful of right and impatient of restraint, while want of success plunges others into madness and crime. A spirit of speculation and gambling becomes the ruling passion and the pursuits of productive industry are abandoned for a chase after imaginary fortunes. All the solid virtues of life are cast into the shade by the showy and magnificent—the permanent foundations of society are shaken—the high interests of man's moral and intelligent nature, are passed heedlessly by in the general delirium: And the expansion goes on, until the land rocks with its own commotion—is wild with its own extravagance—staggers under its own profusion—is drunken with its own exaltation; & until, at length, this bubble of delusive prosperity bursts and the whole superincumbent weight of the evil comes down upon the heads of the many—the whole frame of society is wrecked and all but the favored few are plunged together into the vortex of ruin and misery. And the crowning mischief of the catastrophe is, that the honest industry and labor of the nation, from whose earnings the gorgeous fabric was built, are the first to be crushed beneath its fall. The nation recovers from the disaster but to pass again through the same process to the same fatal result. And at the close of each convulsion, the chasm between the rich and poor is wider and deeper.

And who can estimate the baleful effects of such a system upon the virtue and patriotism of a people? Who can calculate the injury which a nation suffers in its moral constitution, when fraud, rapacity and injustice are introduced and fostered, in its midst, by governmental policy? Who can tell how deep is the stab

to its patriotism when millions of its most valuable citizens feel that its laws were not made for their benefit, but that they are oppressed and wronged by the power that should protect them? How well calculated, moreover, is such a state of things to engender a deep and ineradicable hatred between classes—to make the rich despise and insult the poor, and the poor to seek vengeance for their wrongs upon the rich!

And can such results have been produced by a strict adherence to the principles of government upon which our constitution is founded? Are they the offsprings of a democratic policy? Have they grown out of any proper appreciation of men's rights and equality? Are they not rather the results of a wide departure from the true principles of our constitution and the substitution, in their stead, of aristocratic interests and distinctions? Do they not evince the ascendancy of the Hamiltonian over the Jeffersonian doctrines? Do they not, in short, indicate, but too unerringly, the triumph of the *selfish* over the *social* principle? The same principles of legislation and the same course of policy have but to be adhered to, to end in the establishment of a patrician interest and an aristocratic order, as surely as that the government shall continue to exist. *We* may not and *our children* may not live to witness its complete triumph; but if we love our country and our race, we shall not, on that account, less zealously and perseveringly strive to arrest the progress of a mischief so fatal to human hopes and human happiness, than if we beheld it menacing our own destruction and hanging, like a portent of wrath, over the heads of our children.

True democracy has no fellowship with such a system. It sees in its adoption and perpetuation, a hiding place for the despotic principles of other nations and other times. It beholds not in the improvement and advancement which follow in its train, the improvement and advancement of intellectual and moral man, but the simple progress of his external and perishing interests. It witnesses the nation rise under its influence, but to be cast down; and feels, that when it is most prosperous to the eye, the disease fester most rapidly at the heart.

Let no one suppose from what I have said that the principles of democracy are opposed to improvement and advancement, and *rapid* improvement and advancement too. On the contrary, Democracy has no fellowship with that spirit which is satisfied with present good when higher benefits are within the reach. It fails not to amend through fear of destroying—it has no reverence for abuses or imperfections though hoary with age and sanctified with the approval of past times—it lays careless hands on antiquated systems and oppressive institutions wherever they may be found—and has inscribed all over its banners, in letters of living light, REFORM, PROGRESSIVE IMPROVEMENT. But its reform does not consist in changing the names or outward garb of things—it strikes at the root, upturns, remodels and builds anew. Its improvement is not the improvement of a day, a year or a generation—not alone the invention of new modes of living—new styles of architecture—new fashions of dress—swifter means of communication or magical methods of manufacturing money and wealth; but its improvement is as extensive as the family of human kind—its foundations are laid in the complex and imperishable nature of humanity—and when it starts in its beneficent career, it takes by the hand, the laborer at his toil and the child in its rags as well as the banker in his palace and the philosopher in his study, and goes on, with arts, sciences, and all the adornments of civilized life, as mere rejoicing attendants upon the triumphal march of MAN!

“Come bright Improvement! on the car of Time,
And rule the spacious world from clime to clime:
Thy handmaid arts shall every wild explore,
Trace every wave and culture every shore.”

To demand, then, *reform* of this stupendous system of privilege and favoritism, of which I have spoken, and to strive to bring the nation, in its principles and its legislation, back to the simplicity and purity of earlier times, is but to contend for the supremacy and prevalence of the doctrines of the revolution and the true principles of constitutional freedom. As democrats, we are this day standing up in defence of those very elementary principles of liberty and right for which

Washington fought and Montgomery bled and which Jefferson enforced with a pen of matchless eloquence and power. We are contending, on the 4th of July 1839, with weapons of peace, for the same great, leading propositions in political philosophy, for which our fathers, on the 4th of July 1776, were preparing to contend with battle and blood. The iron foot of power was then trampling them down in order to make them and their posterity after them the burthen-bearers of Lords spiritual and temporal; while over us, avarice is now attempting to erect a dominion equally despotic and unfeeling, in order that the multitude may become the source from which its leeches can draw their substance and their fatness. And shall we not resist as did our fathers? Not indeed with the din and clash of arms, but with the voice of reason and truth, made mighty through the free-man's franchise. Shall we tamely acquiesce in usurpations which will, in the end, wring out the life-blood from the hearts of our people? Shall we, in view of the free spirit and immortal achievements of our sires, submit to a bondage as sure and as lasting as that which they threw off, because the yoke is padded with silk and the fetters are made of gold?

“No—by each spot of haunted ground,
 Where Freedom weeps her children's fall—
 By Plymouth's rock—and Bunker's mound—
 By Griswold's stained and shattered wall—
 By Warren's ghost and Langdon's shade—
 By all the memories of our dead!
 By their enlarging souls which burst
 The bands and fetters round them set;
 By the FREE PILGRIM SPIRIT nuided,
 Within our inmost bosoms yet—
 By all above, around, below,
 Be ours the indignant answer—NO!”

To him who traces with a calm and unprejudiced mind, the history of our revolution and the causes which led to it—who investigates cautiously the true sources of political power—who lays the foundations of human government on the immutable basis of human rights, possessed on a perfect equality by all men—who admits the improvement of man, in his nobler attributes and higher interests as an intelligent and moral being, to be the great end of all just government and legislation; and who, in view of these fundamental tenets of republican freedom, looks, with an impartial eye, at the spirit and tendency of the system of special, unequal and monopolizing legislation now prevailing in this country, and also at the spirit and tendency of democratic principles, it cannot fail to be plain that, DEMOCRACY IS THE TRUE PHILOSOPHY OF LIBERTY.



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